

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00323 011055Z

14

ACTION ACDA-10

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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0323

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DEFINITION OF COMMON CEILING

REF: STATE 149343

1. PARAGRAPH 1 OF DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE ON OPTION 3
(REFTTEL) CALLS FOR EAST TO UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT TO
A COMMON CEILING, "APPROPRIATELY DEFINED," AS THE
GOAL OF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS.

2. INITIAL SPC DISCUSSION ON OPTION 3 HAS DEMONSTRATED
STRONG UK AND FRG INTEREST IN OBTAINING AS FIRM AND
CONCRETE AN EASTERN COMMITMENT AS POSSIBLE -- A
COMMITMENT GOING BEYOND EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE
"CONCEPT" OF THE COMMON CEILING AS PRESENTLY PROPOSED

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00323 011055Z

IN THE WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS. THE GERMAN

SPEAKING NOTES USED AT THE JUNE 23 SPC (USNATO 3397) STATED THAT "WE SHOULD ENVISAGE A NUMERICAL DEFINITION OF THE COMMON CEILING AS A NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVE IN THE FIRST PHASE; AT ANY RATE, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD AIM AT MORE CONCRETE LANGUAGE THAN MERE AGREEMENT TO THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING." THE UK PAPER OF JUNE 18 (STATE 144904), GIVEN BILATERALLY TO THE US AND FRG, STATED THAT "THE WARSAW PACT SHOULD UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING APPROPRIATELY DEFINED (PROBABLY ON A NUMERICAL BASIS)." AT THE JUNE 30 SPC MEETING, THE UK REP PUT FORWARD AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT GUIDANCE ON OPTION 3 PROPOSED BY THE US: THE UK DRAFT CONTAINED THE FORMULATION, "THIS COMMON CEILING WOULD BE SET AT APPROXIMATELY 700,000 (900,000 MEN.)" IN EFFECT, THIS FORMULATION WOULD REQUIRE EASTERN PHASE I AGREEMENT TO A NUMERICAL DEFINITION OF THE COMMON CEILING.

3. FOR THE REASONS OUTLINED IN MBFR VIENNA 138 AND IN STATE 135536 (ANSWER TO QUESTION NUMBER 3), WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR THE ALLIES TO POSE THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE EAST AGREE TO A NUMERICAL DEFINITION OF THE COMMON CEILING IN PHASE I. AS ALREADY ARGUED BY US REPS IN SPC, POSING THIS REQUIREMENT WOULD INEVITABLY INVOLVE ALLIES IN DETAILED NEGOTIATION OF DIFFICULT PHASE II ISSUES (ON MANY OF WHICH ALLIES PRESENTLY HAVE NO POSITION) IN PHASE I. MOREOVER, WE CONSIDER THAT IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE FOR THE ALLIES TO INCREASE THEIR NEGOTIATING DEMANDS ON THE EAST AT THE SAME TIME THEY PUT FORWARD OPTION 3, SINCE OUR TACTICAL AIM IS TO BRING THE EAST INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION ON THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS.

4. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY IN SOME WAY TO ACCOMMODATE UK AND FRG INTEREST IN DEVELOPING A MORE PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE COMMON CEILING TO BE PUT FORWARD TO THE EAST. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, WE SUGGEST FOR WASHINGTON

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00323 011055Z

CONSIDERATION THAT US REPS BE AUTHORIZED TO PUT FORWARD IN SPC THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENTS TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE (REFTEL):

A. DELETE "APPROPRIATELY DEFINED" IN NEXT TO LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF DRAFT GUIDANCE.

B. INSERT NEW SENTENCE BEFORE PRESENT LAST

SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1: "IN THE PHASE I AGREEMENT, ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES TO AGREE IN PHASE II ON WHATEVER FURTHER REDUCTIONS WILL BE NEEDED TO REACH AN EQUAL TOTAL OF GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER FOR BOTH SIDES."

C. INSERT "TO THE EAST" AFTER "ILLUSTRATIVELY" IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1.

5. THE EFFECT OF THE NEW LANGUAGE SUGGESTED IN SUB-PARAGRAPH B ABOVE WOULD BE TO SPELL OUT AN "APPROPRIATE DEFINITION" OF THE COMMON CEILING FOR PURPOSES OF PHASE I AGREEMENT TO BE PUT FORWARD TO THE EAST. IN DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST, THE ALLIES WOULD SUPPLEMENT THIS BY DESCRIBING THE COMMON CEILING ILLUSTRATIVELY AS APPROXIMATELY 900,000 MEN (LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF DRAFT GUIDANCE), BUT WOULD NOT REQUIRE THAT THE EAST AGREE IN PHASE I TO THIS FIGURE.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT AN EASTERN PHASE I COMMITMENT TO ELIMINATE THE MANPOWER DISPARITY IN PHASE II, TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH INFORMAL EAST-WEST UNDERSTANDING ON WHAT THE CURRENT MANPOWER TOTALS ON EACH SIDE IN THE AREA ARE, WOULD ADEQUATELY SERVE WESTERN PURPOSES. RESOR

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